

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1876.

The Week.

AS we go to press, Mr. Tilden appears to have secured 184 electoral votes, one less than a majority, with Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and Wisconsin, with 25 votes, among the States in doubt. The vote is close enough to permit a good deal of "claiming" to be still done. The Congressional returns show a reduced majority for the Democrats in the House and for the Republicans in the Senate. In Massachusetts Butler is elected to Congress, and he will take with him to Washington one of the wretchedest Congressional delegations that could well have been got together. The election passed off in the quietest manner throughout the entire country, no indications being given at the polls, except in the number of ballots cast, of the fierce passions which we have been told were swaying large bodies of voters.

The election of Mr. Tilden, it should be remembered, would not by any means be followed by a clean sweep of all the offices next March. His administration would have to be carried on by the aid of a Republican Senate, and no appointments of his making could be confirmed without their consent. In one way this would be likely to increase the difficulties of his administration, and at the same time it might save him from a great many changes to which a large party majority in both houses would have exposed him. For sixteen years, with the exception of the Johnson interregnum, we have had a President and a Senate in political accord, and of course the stormy struggles of the reconstruction period throw almost no light on the question of the probable working of an administration checked as Mr. Tilden's would be at any rate for the next two years.

The vote of this State, which was expected to be very close, is Democratic by thirty or forty thousand, the rural Republican majority being swamped by the enormous Democratic vote in this city and Brooklyn. Comparing the result with that in 1872, Tilden's majorities in the State by counties are larger than Grant's were then. New Jersey and Connecticut have undoubtedly gone Democratic, and the greenback vote, while it has developed some strength in the West, has, in the home of the inflationist candidate for the Presidency, almost disappeared. The Republicans made a good fight for the State, but it is not more or less than the truth to say that the enormous registration in this city caused them, more than a week ago, to regard it as almost a hopeless task. There is no doubt either that the Democratic campaign in this city, by whomsoever managed, was one of the most complete bits of "work," in the politician's sense of the word, that has ever been done, and we are glad to say that, on the whole, the result leaves the Democratic "machine" in this city in better hands than it has been for some years. How this was accomplished no one will ever probably know; but the appearance on the stage and withdrawal of Mr. Green, the secession of Morrissey from the Anti-Tammany ranks, and the manly declarations of Mr. James O'Brien in favor of the sacrifice of all personal considerations for the good of the national ticket, if not affording "evidence of design," were certainly a most extraordinary and happy combination of accidents. The "Reform" career of Anti-Tammany is, we take it, brought finally to an end.

In the city election the only determined opposition to Tammany was made in the case of the Surrogate's office. An honest effort was made to elect Mr. Peabody by means of scratching and "pastors," and he has polled a very heavy vote, which shows what is the utmost that can be done by a feebly or half-organized movement against improper candidates. Few people who have not engaged in an attempt to defeat a regular candidate know what a

thankless task it is to try to get voters to take the trouble to revise a list of a dozen candidates, whose names in nine cases out of ten convey little or no meaning even to the people who vote for them. The evils sure to arise from a multiplication of elective offices cannot but force themselves upon the attention in a State like New York, where, on Tuesday, everybody voted six different ballots, containing in all fifty-three names. Whether the fact that of these thirty-five were candidates for membership of an Electoral College—which merely votes ministerially, and whose deliberations produce exactly the same result, no matter what names are on it—makes the system more or less objectionable, is perhaps open to question. The fate of the Constitutional Amendments, which struck directly at the evils caused by the inflation of the elective system throughout the State, is, as we go to press, unknown.

The perfect peacefulness with which a popular election passes off in a hotly-contested State like New York, filled with a very heterogeneous population, a large part of which is not at all averse to disorder, is always a gratifying proof of the soundness of our "institutions." The only flaw, we believe, that can be found with a Presidential election as at present conducted is that success is necessarily confined to one candidate only. If any thoughtful reformer could by a slight modification of the electoral machinery secure a system by which all the candidates could be elected, he would deserve the lasting gratitude of mankind, and particularly of the press. The defeat of all but one of the candidates makes it impossible to perform a duty which would, under other conditions, be one of the most pleasing and at the same time useful functions of an enlightened press—*i.e.*, the verification of the prophecies made about the character of the incoming administration by the partisans of the respective parties. During the past campaign we have had a great many of these prophecies. On the one hand, if Tilden was elected, we were to have the country flooded with greenbacks; all funding operations were to cease; the Southern war-losses, to the tune of a couple of thousand millions, were to be assumed; the murder and intimidation of the negroes were to go unpunished at the South, and a general "carnival of crime" was to begin. On the other hand, the election of Hayes was to result in a Cabinet made up of Chandler, Blaine, Cameron, Morton, Logan, and "Bob" Ingersoll; the right of suffrage was to be practically denied to the Southern whites; the Southern State governments were to be carried on by the negroes, dragooned by United States marshals; and the carnival to begin all the same, though it was to be a Republican and not a Democratic carnival. Now, alas! we shall be able to verify one of these sets of predictions; but never the other.

The Republican "cries" during the late canvass were, in the order of their production, (1) that the Southerners and Northern Democrats were still public enemies, and should be met at the polls in the same spirit in which they were met on the battle-field; (2) that they were bloodthirsty men, who delighted in the slaughter of negroes, and therefore should be kept out of power in the interest of humanity; (3) that Tilden defrauded the Government in his income-tax; (4) that if his party got into office they would pay themselves about \$2,000,000,000 in claims for damages during the war, and therefore should be kept out of power in the interest of economy; (5) that if they got into power the public credit would be ruined, and European capitalists would lend us no more money at four and a half per cent. The introduction of each of these reasons (there was no mention of any of them in Hayes's letter) was alleged to be followed by a great "uprising" of some class of the community. The last one caused an uprising of bankers and merchants, and led to an invitation from this class to Mr. Evarts to deliver an address on various points, but particularly the danger of Tilden's election to the public credit. He accordingly delivered a very good speech, but said little about the public credit, except

that the average voters understood its condition at least as well as Mr. Belmont. The Democrats relied throughout the campaign mainly on Republican frauds and defalcations, the history of which they prepared very skillfully in a good-sized octavo volume, entitled 'The Campaign Text-Book,' containing 750 closely-printed pages. As it was largely composed of official reports, evidence taken before Congressional Committees and Criminal Courts, it was not pleasant reading for patriots. The biography of Senator Patterson of South Carolina deserves the careful study of the thoughtful politician.

Mr. Evans's speech at the Cooper Institute and Secretary Morrill's public address on the steps of the Sub-treasury in Wall Street have been the principal Republican events of the past week. Mr. Evans's was much the best of the two. Both carefully avoided making any definite prediction of the precise effect on the credit of the Government abroad of a Democratic victory, and the "letters from leading European capitalists" so much talked of were, somewhat to the disappointment of the faithful, not produced. Mr. Morrill's harangue was more like a stump-speech than anything else, and his remarks, or prophecies, with regard to resumption were, considering whom they came from, to say the least, remarkable. On his referring to the subject, some sceptical person in the crowd cried out, "How are you going to do it?" upon which Mr. Morrill promised that if the enquirer would be patient he would "show him directly." Now, when the Secretary of the Treasury, having authority under an act of Congress to prepare for resumption at a definite fixed time, calls the public together and promises to tell them how he is going to do it, we naturally expect something pretty precise and important, and on reading the promise we said, as we suppose a great many other persons did, to ourselves: Here at last it is; now we shall know exactly how it is to be done; no more shuffling, but a plain, straightforward statement of the means by which specie payments are to be resumed on January 1, 1879. And what do we find Mr. Morrill's programme to be? Why just this (we take the *Times's* verbatim report):

"I know how we will do it; I know how it will be made easy to do it, if this party triumphs, as I know it will—[loud applause]—as it was decreed from the foundation of the earth that it would. [Renewed applause and laughter.] But you will find that business will revive everywhere: it is reviving now, and will revive still more. The balance of trade is with you now as it has not been before for many years. Everything is setting in our favor, whether human or divine; and with confidence restored and assured my sceptical friend below there will wake up some morning this side of 1-79 and find that we are already at specie payments. [Cheers and laughter.] Specie payments? It is a question simply of *maintaining* resumption. We can resume any day; it is simply a question of maintaining resumption; and the elements to enable us to accomplish that are all in motion and all on our side. [Cries of 'Good,' and cheers.] And this victory which in the early part of next week we are to register will enable us to accomplish it. [Applause.] If any man doubts these assurances I will make them good to him or I will never see him again. [Laughter.] I will never be a prophet again. [Continued merriment.] We intend to resume by 1879."

Any candid man will, we think, confess that this reads much more like a burlesque of a "Resumption Speech" by a Prominent Republican Statesman than anything else, and if any Republican, who did not know the author of the programme, were asked to guess who he was, he would, no doubt, think at once of some soft-money Democrat. It might very fairly be Mr. Hendricks's own.

Apart from this, the appearance of Mr. Morrill in Wall Street was noticeable as being a conspicuous instance of what we may call electioneering administration. No canvass that we can remember in the history of the country has been so marked by the open and undisguised use of high officers of government as electioneering agents. The Secretary of the Interior has managed the canvass, the Attorney-General has taken the stump, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has authorized a hue-and-cry after the "frauds" of the opposition candidate, while the Secretary of the

Treasury has tried to get up a panic in Wall Street over the Government credit.

Although during the past canvass most things under heaven have been pretty thoroughly discussed there is one that has been strangely overlooked. We refer to the probable effect of the election of Hayes or Tilden on General Grant. Of course every one knew that the election of Hayes would be gratifying to him, but during the whole campaign little or no attention was paid to the possible effect upon the next four months' administration of Mr. Tilden's success. Yet we know that the President is powerfully affected by politics, and that the political seizures to which he is now and then subject are apt to have a tremendous effect on all the rest of us. When he made up his mind to "carry Indiana" every clerk in the Post-Office trembled for his seat, and the Postmaster-General was turned out-of-doors; when reflection had brought him to the conclusion that the common schools were threatened with danger from the Pope, his little speech on the subject plunged the whole country into a discussion which lasted nearly a year, and helped to make Mr. Blaine come very near being the Republican nominee for the Presidency. His great silence and his wonderful capacity for inaction have made his occasional bursts of political activity seem like great historical events, and as he has been notoriously filled with apprehensions during the canvass of the public misfortunes likely to result from Tilden's election, it would really have been an interesting subject of speculation what steps, in that case, the "Old Man" would take during the few remaining months of his rule to protect his country from these dangers, and what barriers he would erect against the cupidity and treason of the ex-rebels. What deep-laid schemes of protection may have passed through his mind we shall never know; but, as far as can be made out from the newspapers, the thing that had occurred to him as likely to produce most immediate beneficial effect, and "head off" Tilden most thoroughly, was the pardon of all the whiskey-thieves. In this we think he was quite right. People may differ about the currency question and civil-service reform, and other kinds of reform; but of one thing there is no doubt, that no statesman likes to remain in jail a day longer than is necessary, or that the constitutional method of preventing continuous incarceration is by executive pardon. There is, in fact, on more beautiful proof of the elasticity of free institutions than the development of the pardoning power from a merely corrective and infrequently-used prerogative into a great bulwark of liberty and guarantee of civil rights, like *habeas corpus* or *quo warranto*. It is not only the hope of the humble whiskey-thief under sentence, but the safeguard of the statesman still at large.

We regret to announce that the Massachusetts Republicans have made the discovery that General B. F. Butler is a liar. Rumors prejudicial to the General's character for veracity have been for some time current in that State, but it has been difficult to trace them to any trustworthy source, though they caused great uneasiness and anxiety in the public mind. During the late canvass, however, the fact was established beyond question. The General published a letter about his opponent, Judge Hear, containing nearly as many falsehoods as it could hold, and, what was worse than all, giving evidence of a familiarity with and skill in lying which in such a quarter was little short of appalling. The fall of this great soldier and philanthropist, the "Conqueror of New Orleans" and the friend of the black man, coming at the close of a year of great business despondency, has naturally exerted a most depressing effect on the people of the State, and they are saying sorrowfully, "Whom shall we trust now? Since friendship for the black man is no guarantee of a white man's veracity, what guarantee is there? Church membership counts for nothing; wealth and position count for nothing; and now the very conquerors and philanthropists in our midst have begun to lie like clockwork. It's awful!" We do not know what consolation to offer; but perhaps now that Butler knows what suffering his mendacity causes, he will reform.

One of his lies in the letter referred to was about Judge Hoar's "packing the Supreme Court" to obtain a reversal of the decision making the legal-tender act unconstitutional as regarded contracts made before its passage. Judge Hoar says in his speech in reply to Butler that he found it "copied" in the *Nation*, and replied to it in a letter which we pronounced "a complete answer," which is true; but as some campaign rascals have been revising his statement so as to make it appear that we "originated" the charge, we may as well recall all the facts. The charge originated in January, 1872, in the platform of the Missouri Liberal Republicans, on whose call the Cincinnati (Greeley) Convention met in the following May, and was, textually, that the Administration "had packed the Supreme Court in the interest of wealthy corporations." On the 7th of March following we asked *Harper's Weekly*, which was defending the President, to answer frankly and fairly the question among others whether this was true, "for the satisfaction of candid men who had no personal ends to serve either by opposing or supporting him." During the subsequent month we saw Judge Hoar personally, and received from him an explanation, which in our issue of April 11 we, without hearing from *Harper's Weekly*, converted into an answer ourselves, pronouncing it "a good and sufficient answer" as to the charge of "packing," while condemning the rehearing of the case on grounds of expediency. During the following week (April 15) Judge Hoar wrote us a letter, which we published April 18, giving a full and explicit account of the whole matter, which was substantially the same as the one he has recently given in his speech, and giving one or two reasons for differing from us on the other points. This ended the affair as far as we were concerned, and, we believe, as far as the intelligent public was concerned. That it should be brought up again, with embellishments, by the old Conqueror and Humanitarian of Lowell and the adjacent country is not surprising.

During the past week so much attention has been devoted in one way or another to political affairs that the volume of business in the financial and trade markets has been small. In London there has been a general advance in securities which were recently depressed by the expectation of war. British consols, since the armistice which precludes war for two months and makes it in any event improbable until spring, have advanced to 96½, which is a fraction above the price just before war was thought to be inevitable. United States securities, which did not share in the depression of consols, have not been affected by their recovery. At the Stock Exchange here prices were depressed early in the week by the failure of the railroad conference (at which the New York Central, the Erie, the Grand Trunk of Canada, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio companies were represented) to agree on an advance in rates for through freights. Later there was an advance from the lowest prices based on the fact that this conference is not final, and that there may yet be an adjustment of differences and an advance in rates before the water-routes are frozen. The gold value of a United States legal-tender note has ranged during the week between \$0.9090 and \$0.9111.

The conviction of Dr. Slade, the American spiritualist, in a London police court, as a vagrant and fortune-teller, and his committal to jail for three months with hard labor, is raising a good deal of discussion in the English press, owing to the singular nature of some of the evidence. It consisted first of the testimony of Mr. Lankester that he snatched the slate on which the spirits wrote, and found writing on it before it had been presented to them for their use. This seemed sufficient; but the magistrate admitted also the testimony of a distinguished juggler or spirit-exposer, Mr. Maskelyne, to show how the writing on the slate might be produced, as Slade produced it, by mere sleight of hand, and he went through his tricks in court to the great entertainment of the audience. The question is now raised whether this was legitimate testimony, and whether it is conclusive against a thaumaturgist's pretence of having spiritual

aid that another man is able to produce the same phenomena by mere manual dexterity. Such testimony, besides being unusual, is certainly in the present state of our knowledge hard on spiritualists, but we seem to be threatened with a good deal of it, for several jugglers seem to be taking up the exposure of spiritualists as a calling, which, if it does nothing else, will drive all but first-class mediums out of the profession. Slade must curse the day when he abandoned his quiet *clientèle* in this city to try the sceptics of the British metropolis.

The Servian war, which had been allowed to go on, attended as it has been with unusual suffering and atrocity, for many weeks after it had become well known that it would not be permitted to have a logical issue, has at last been brought to a close by a peremptory summons, addressed to Turkey by Russia, requiring her to conclude an armistice within forty-eight hours. The Turks of course submitted, and the representatives of the six Powers are now discussing at Constantinople the nature of the reforms Turkey is to institute and the guarantees she is to give for faithful execution of them. It is becoming clearer and clearer that England is not going to fight either for or against Turkey, not even to save Constantinople from Russia; that the Ministry will not call Parliament together; and that the English public is reconciling itself to the idea, and consoling itself with the reflection that if Germany can stand having Russia in possession of the Bosphorus, England can very well do so. In the meantime, however, Germany shows no sign of excitement, although the temper of Russia grows visibly more imperious and her demands grow more exorbitant. During the last fortnight there seems to have been some fear in England that the Bulgarian excitement might be succeeded by an excitement against Russia, but this danger appears to be over, and the anti-Turkish papers are occupied in defending her. Russia, in fact, meets with no opposition in any quarter. Austria and Germany acquiesce, and so does Italy, while France has openly proclaimed her neutrality. Turkey has been playing her old game of postponement and pitting one Power against another. When the Powers asked for an armistice she proposed to give one for six months, during which the Servian militia would probably disperse and go home; and when they asked for reforms in the Slavie provinces she proposed reforms for the whole Empire without foreign interference. What Russia now insists on is a short armistice and quick negotiations for reforms to be carried out under foreign supervision, and this, after all that has happened, one can hardly blame her for asking.

The French Ministry have sustained a slight check in the Assembly on the question of pardoning Communists still exposed to prosecution, and the mode of trying them, but have accepted it without ill-temper, though it was for a while thought possible that it might produce a crisis. The most important recent political event is, however, the report of M. Gambetta's Budget Committee on the taxes, which has been long and somewhat impatiently expected, as taxation is a tender question with French Conservatives, and Gambetta's views on it are made the more important by the fact that he is generally considered the coming man. He discards at the outset a favorite idea of the Socialistic party—a progressive income-tax—that is, a tax increasing as the income increases, of which we had a modification here; also a fixed percentage on the selling value of fixed capital. He puts taxable property in five categories—land, buildings, trade or industry, personal and salaries, with furniture and luxuries, and on the third and fifth proposes to tax on returns furnished by the taxpayers, though he anticipates much perjury, and to reach everybody but paupers, leaving the authorities in each department to determine what should be exempt under the head of necessities of life. Finally, he proposes the abolition of a number of indirect taxes and the restriction of others. As this is the first attempt at a revision of the French system since 1791, every government being too much in dread of the Radicals to touch it, the discussion promises to be interesting.

THE REPUBLICAN CREED.

AT this writing nobody knows who will be the next President. And both parties are diligently "playing their last cards" and issuing "trumpet calls" to the voters. By the time the present number of the *Nation* reaches our readers, however, the decision will have been made, and the time both for prophecy and warning is therefore already past. No matter which of the candidates is successful, the attitude of the two great parties towards each other, and towards the chief political questions of the day—the currency, the civil service, and the condition of the South—will remain substantially the same. If the Republican party is defeated, it will secure through its defeat riddance of many odious and mischievous leaders, and will have the opportunity and experience necessary for reorganization under men who sincerely believe in its doctrines, and adhere to it for the sake of the doctrines. If, on the other hand, it is victorious, it will in all probability be called on to support the President in a struggle with "the Machine" the difficulty and duration of which one can hardly estimate. In either case it will need all its resources in numbers, ideas, and discipline to fulfil the object of its existence.

Now, the greatest source of its weakness during the past ten, and particularly during the past four, years has been the want of a creed or platform. It has had none with regard either to present or future policy to which it exacted adhesion as the sign and test of party fidelity. When it came out of the war the platform on which it had been formed had become in great part obsolete. There was no longer any need for declarations of hostility to slavery, because it had been abolished, and but little need of declarations of devotion to the Union, because it had been saved. But there was great need of a settled party policy with regard to the management of the currency, the adaptation of the civil service to the enormous burdens and responsibilities put upon it by the war, and with regard to the use of the new powers put into the hands of the Government by the amendments to the Constitution. This settled party policy was, however, never shaped. As long as a candidate approved of the war, had supported it, and expressed a general desire that its results should not be disturbed, and a general belief that the Southern whites and the Northern Democrats were untrustworthy, he was allowed to think and vote as he pleased upon the other matters above mentioned. The result has been that down to the present year there have been Republicans opposed to civil-service reform, and Republicans in favor of it; Republicans who thought the bonds might be paid in greenbacks, and Republicans who thought they ought to be paid in gold; Republicans who thought the issue of the legal tenders an exercise of the war power, and therefore only constitutional as a measure of overwhelming necessity, and Republicans who thought it was the right and might be the duty of the Government to issue paper money at any time; Republicans who thought the South conquered-territory which Congress might govern as it pleased, and Republicans who thought the Southern States fully restored to their old status in the Union. The divisions in Congress were what one might have expected under these circumstances. There were Republicans voting in support of all the excesses towards the South of which the present Administration has ever been accused, and Republicans voting with the Democrats in condemnation of them; Republicans supporting the President's attempt at civil-service reform, and Republicans heaping ridicule on it; Republicans voting with the Democrats to inflate the currency two years ago, and others vigorously opposing it; and yet all were in good and regular standing. In fact, the party, which has of late years claimed a certain ecclesiastical character, was before the late canvass a true "Broad Church," in which everybody was at liberty to believe what he pleased as long as he was opposed to sin, and what he meant by "sin" he was never called on to define with any nicety.

The inconveniences of this state of things were made abundantly manifest in the campaign which has just closed. One of the most prominent was the room afforded for the activity and prominence

of bad characters; another was the blighting influence exercised on the younger generation of politicians. The party has since the war done absolutely nothing for the political training of the generation which has come on the stage since 1865. It has had no programme to which it could ask for their adhesion; no faith for which it could kindle their enthusiasm by expounding; no education to impart in public economy, or methods of administration, or in social or legal reforms of any kind. The party gospel offered to the young men has, indeed, consisted in the main of dreary reminiscences of the badness of the Democratic party about the time of their birth, and apologies for acts which their fathers could not defend in their own homes, and for politicians with whom they would not wish to associate in business.

There ought now to be a decided change in all this, and Mr. Hayes's letter, which was the real platform of the late canvass, and ought to have been used as such, might furnish the basis at least of a Republican creed by which candidates might be tested, and adhesion to which, in its main features, ought to be exacted of everybody calling himself a Republican. These main features are:

1. Civil-service reform, meaning by this the restoration of the appointing power to the Executive, to whom the Constitution assigned it; the exclusion of Congress from all illegal share in it, and the relief of the Executive from the prodigious and insupportable burden of incessantly filling offices and ascertaining the fitness of new candidates, by a reasonable and business-like fixity of tenure in the subordinate places. This includes also a vigorous and progressive policy on the part of the Government with reference to improvements of all kinds in the machinery of administration, so as to make the mode of transacting the public business worthy of the place of the country among civilized nations.

2. The reform of the currency by a return as rapidly as possible to the common standard of the civilized world, and the discouragement in this, as in other branches of administration, of all quackery, and a reliance on the experience and reflection of the trained and thoughtful portion of the human race on this as on other subjects. It would be little short of miraculous that Butler, or Kelley, or Claflin, or Boutwell, or Jones, or Morton, men of very moderate powers and no mental training at all, should have received light on the management of currency of which the nations of the Western world have during one thousand years of painful experimentation had no glimmering; and miracles in finance are not to be looked for.

3. The application to the treatment of the South of the old American method of conciliation and confidence, and the abandonment of the old Austrian notion that whole communities may be made up of devilish persons insensible to reason or justice, and only manageable by brute force and denunciation. This is not true of any body of men. It is not true even of slaveholders or "ex-rebels." The belief in it is a weapon taken from the arsenal of mediæval bigotry and tyranny, and worthy only of Metternich or King Bomba. It has been abandoned by the nations which have tried it longest and most thoroughly, and it is a burning shame and disgrace that it should have been revived among us at this late date. Let us now hear the last of it, and go forward on the nobler and more excellent way. Negro suffrage undoubtedly complicates the problem at the South, but it does not render it insoluble or call for entirely new methods in dealing with it. The rational and American way of dealing with the dislike of the whites to negro suffrage is to show them that it is not likely to menace their peace or security, and to use all our influence with the negroes to prevent their abusing their newly-acquired powers, and to cherish mutual confidence between the two races, instead of promoting distrust and hatred as we have done. Had the Republican party engaged in any such task it would now have much enthusiasm to draw on; but what enthusiasm was possible for a party whose only missionaries to the dark places of our soil were carpet-baggers, and whose sole remedy for the horrors of a social revolution have been "troops" and vituperation? Let us now look for better work. Do not let us hear any longer from American lips that your fellow-citizens must repent

and ask pardon before you will help them, and, when they complain of the bitterness of the medicine you offer them, that it is twice too good for them and that you wish it was bitterer.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

NO partisan motive can now be suspected for discussing what we consider the singular and ill-advised step of the Republican managers at the close of the late canvass, in declaring that the continuance of the conversion of the six per cent. bonds into four and a half per cents. would come to a stop in Europe if Tilden were elected. The story originated in, and was probably suggested by, a remark of a Treasury clerk now in Europe on some errand, and was of about as much weight as the remark of a lively young Wall-Street broker over his lunch—a fact which was probably perceived by the authors of it, for they never would give any better authority for it than “letters received here” (Washington), though they talked as if it was Baron Rothschild himself who had set it a-going. As it was taken up and made much of by the campaign papers and orators, it soon grew into a positive statement that European investors had the same horror of the Democrats as native Republicans, and were as fully convinced of Tilden’s untrustworthiness, and that when they lent money to the United States, it was really to the Republican party they lent it; and we were given to understand that while they were willing to let the Republicans have it at four and a half per cent., they would not advance a cent to the Democrats under twelve or fifteen.

Now, we doubt very much whether many of those who have given countenance to this sort of talk believed one word of it. Everybody who is in the least familiar with the considerations which govern the European money-market knows perfectly well that, as we said a fortnight ago, capitalists in forming their notion of the credit of a country take into account all the contingencies arising out of its political system. They take it for granted, for instance, in lending to the government of a parliamentary country that the two great political parties are equally likely to get into power. We venture to say that there is not an adult lender in Great Britain, Holland, or Germany who would lend one dollar to the United States Government under thirty or forty per cent. if he thought that his chance of getting his money back, or the interest on it, depended on one party remaining constantly in office. A very slight and cursory acquaintance with the history of American politics would show him how very uncertain any such reliance would be, and perhaps the last thing in the world you could get him to do would be to “figure” on election returns or consult “men inside of politics” in order to make up his mind to which of the two parties it was safer to make advances. The strength of American credit, in short, lies in the fact that it is considered a constitutional and not a revolutionary country; or, in other words, is considered a country in which party contests are carried on under the law, and in which the party in power recognizes as binding all obligations previously contracted by persons legally authorized to speak for the nation. If this was supposed to be a revolutionary country—that is, a country like San Domingo or the South American Republics—in which a change of parties meant the overthrow of the government and the repudiation of its contracts, no argument by a native politician going to show that a revolution was not likely to occur, or that the party in power was pretty sure to stay in power for an indefinite period, could prevent our bonds from selling for what they brought in 1862. A party which is only beaten by about 20,000 in a million votes is, for financial purposes, always a party likely to succeed finally. A loan to its opponents would be highly speculative, and would necessarily command twelve per cent., if not more, because it would be substantially a loan to a *de facto* government constantly threatened with expulsion. There was a time, shortly after the war, when the sort of talk to which we have been treated in the late canvass, and the wild bills of the House of Representatives, or wild resolutions of public meetings, did exert an unfavorable influence on our credit in Europe; but that time has passed away. European financiers are just as hardened

to these things now as we are ourselves, and have just as much capacity for seeing through the foam of campaign rhetoric. The Indiana election, and the probabilities of Tilden’s success, which were at least strong for two months before the election, did not affect American Government securities in London or Amsterdam in the smallest degree; and we noticed that none of the financiers in this city who professed to be alarmed about the national credit, showed any disposition to meet the Democratic offer in the *World* and sell United States bonds “short” contingent on Tilden’s election, which would not only have been a legitimate but prudent operation.

Of the impolicy and indecency of such attacks on the national credit, and such attempts to persuade the world that the wounds inflicted by our late civil strife are not only unhealed but incurable, and that we are in truth in the condition of Mexico, and that our national elections are attempts at revolution, we hardly need to speak. They have all the marks of baseness and treason which characterized the Democratic appeal to foreign powers, described by the British Minister in 1862, to get them to interfere for the stoppage of the war, and they have hardly any of the excuse. The position which the leaders of the Republican party have taken up towards the actors in the late rebellion and their Northern supporters and sympathizers has, we venture to assert, no historical parallel or precedent, except the English treatment of the Irish after 1688. In all other civil wars or rebellions of which we have any knowledge the submission of the vanquished was taken as genuine, and their protestations of resignation and acquiescence were treated as true. There may have been distrust, and there may have been precautions taken in consequence of the distrust, but the submission once accepted, and the precautions once taken, the victors at least affected to believe that the conflict was over. In fact, it has been a weakness of victors to pretend that the conflict was over when it was not, and that the conquered had accepted the results of the struggle when they had not. Sound policy, if not courtesy and humanity, prescribed at least an appearance of faith in the protestations of men who had laid down their arms, and the world was always, at the earliest possible moment, assured that peace and tranquillity and harmony had been restored. It has been reserved for our nation and age to produce a class of politicians who seem to take a pride in proclaiming that their country is permanently torn by civil dissension; that a large body of their countrymen, who fought long and vigorously against the Government, were only shamming when they surrendered, and are lying, even now, eleven years after the peace, when they say they mean to fight no more; that any one who maintains that the Union is really restored, and the Government truly established, and the public credit raised above all danger, is a hypocrite and deceiver and is planning an assault on all three—a body of politicians who implore foreigners to believe that the election of our principal executive officer by a majority of lawful votes will very likely break up our political system and put the Treasury into the hands of a band of robbers. There never was such folly; at least we know of none, except, as we say, that displayed by the Irish Protestants when, as a measure of precaution, they held the Catholics in slavery for a whole century after the surrender of Limerick. But even that—awful as its consequences proved—did not equal this performance of ours in absurdity, for it was the Catholic creed that the Protestants feared, and this the Catholics never offered to abandon. Our rebels, on the contrary, have wholly lost what they fought for, have repudiated what was obnoxious in their doctrines, have protested that they will never rebel again, have taken every oath and pledge we have prescribed, have used every art within their reach to incorporate themselves once more in the mass of American citizens, and we not only watch and doubt but keep shouting to the whole earth—“What knaves half our people are! What liars! What repudiators and swindlers! How jesuitically they use language! How they perjure themselves! How anxious they are for another bloody war! How eager they are to cheat somebody! Only half the American people, on a liberal computation, are worthy of the slightest credit!”

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XXI.

BRAZIL IN AGRICULTURAL HALL.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4.

THE price of cotton in New York and New Orleans and the price of grain in Chicago are regulated by the Liverpool market. This means that the controlling market for these products is not here but in Europe. As these and other of our soil products are among the chief sources of our national wealth, it is interesting to study the degree to which any competition may be able to affect our interests in the foreign market.

The Imperial Republic of Brazil, which has been free and independent for only half a century, and which is only beginning to develop the resources of its enormous area, under the control of what is almost the freest government in the world, has attracted here and in Europe but little popular attention. A country of almost boundless extent, of great natural fertility of soil, and with every variety of climate that agriculture and forestry can desire, needs only skilful development to make itself felt in the markets of the civilized world. So far as one can judge of its people from those who represent its interests at Philadelphia, and from that gray-bearded and benign steam engine—their ruler—who so recently visited this country, and examined with such eagerness every feature of our industry, the natural advantages of Brazil are likely to have all the development that human energy can give, and to demand early attention from the rest of the world. The space set apart for the Brazilian exhibit in Agricultural Hall, with its great cloistered facade of cotton wool, contains much of instructive interest for the political economists of the United States. It is rich in every part with the soil products and forest products of a country which is already occupying a very important position as one of the world's great producers. The eye of the visitor is so generally attracted to its fine display of beautiful woods, suited for the finest cabinet-work, its curious Indian products, and other things which have the element of novelty, that one is apt to overlook the evidence given of the enormous productiveness of Brazil in articles which are of world-wide use.

Cotton, which was for so long time our king, seems inclined to abandon its old throne and to seek other countries into which the four years' interruption of cotton-growing caused by our war stimulated an introduction of our approved good processes for its cultivation. Nowhere does it seem to find the conditions for its successful production more completely developed than in Brazil. It is asserted that the poorer cotton lands of Brazil yield fifty per cent. more cotton than do those of our Southern States, the medium lands more than four times as much, and the best even eight times as much, while the cheapness of labor, which seems not to have been affected by the practical manumission of the slaves, and which is due very largely to the ease with which food may be produced, enables the Brazilian to produce his crop at less cost than is possible with us. The export of cotton has not thus far exceeded half a million bales in any one year, and it is not yet included in the list of "principal exports," but it is a promising and growing industry, which is likely to have at least as much influence upon the value of our home crop as have the cotton-growing interests of Egypt and India.

A much more important product of Brazil is its coffee. We are disposed to regard Brazilian coffee as being what we call "Rio"—an inferior quality, sold at a low price, and used only among poorer people. An examination of the sacks, jars, and barrels filled with coffee-berries, in the Brazilian exhibit, or an experience of the delicious beverage supplied at the Brazilian café, prepares one to appreciate Agassiz's statements concerning the coffee of that land. He took pains to inform himself as to the culture of coffee in Brazil during the past fifty years, and he regarded the rapidly-growing development of the production as "among the most striking economical phenomena of our century." He says that more than one half the coffee used in the whole world is grown in Brazil. Its little reputation comes of the trade custom of classifying as Java or Mocha, or as the product of Martinique or Bourbon, all the yield of the best Brazilian plantations that are put upon the market. Martinique, Bourbon, and Guadalupe do not, all together, produce in a year enough coffee to supply the market of Rio for three days. Even the Mocha coffee of commerce is very largely a Brazilian product, and its peculiar small round berries, called in Arabia camel-back berries, have a prominent place among the Brazilian exhibits. The shades of Arabia require the coffee of their districts to pass an inspection at the hands of their servants, who carefully take out these camel-back berries; some of the coffee of this country passing through three or four sets of seekers after the choicer bits before it finally reaches the market. The so-called Mocha is an abortive or half-developed berry growing towards the end of the branches. It is carefully selected and sold separately.

Unfortunately, the Brazilian planters, like the cotton and sugar planters of our Southern States, are often largely in debt to their factors, and are obliged to give them the manipulation of their crops. These factors and their European correspondents have found it easier to avail themselves of the established reputation of the old brands of fine coffee, and to put their product on sale under these old names, than to establish, as they could readily do, a reputation in the markets of the world for their best brands. These facts have been brought to light at the Centennial, and at the Vienna, Paris, and London Exhibitions, and the better Brazilian coffees are no less desirable now that we may know them under their own colors.

Agassiz's opinion as to the phenomenal character of the growth of the coffee business in Brazil is well sustained by statistics. At the beginning of this century there were exported from Rio ten sacks of coffee. In the year of the formation of the Empire, in 1822, the exportation had reached over one hundred and fifty thousand sacks, and in 1874 it amounted to more than two and a half million sacks. A similar increase has marked the growth of the traffic at the other principal shipping points. About three hundred million pounds of sugar, thirty-six million pounds of tobacco, and ten million pounds of india-rubber are shipped to this country alone, to say nothing of the immense export to Europe. The tobacco of the country is not only abundant, but it is of excellent quality, and the cigars offered to the guests at the reception given at the Union League by the Brazilian Minister were a revelation to those who have grown up in the belief that the little district of Vuelto Abajo in Cuba is the only spot on earth where tobacco for the best cigars may be grown. I have smoked nothing from Cuba that is better than these best Brazilian cigars. There is a good display at the Exposition of the variety of cigars grown and manufactured in the province of Bahia, and costing there from twenty-five dollars to thirty dollars per thousand, and having all the characteristics of Havana cigars. Should the introduction of these products prove successful, the effect of the competition with Cuba will be greatly in favor of those who are now oppressed by the high cost of what they think to be the only smokable cigar.

Among the exhibits in Agricultural Hall, and among the articles furnished at the Brazilian café, is a product known as *Maté* of Paraná (*Ilex Paraguayensis*), or Paraguay tea. It is a leaf of the same color with the leaf of our garden sage, and its infusion does not differ materially in color from that of the sage-tea of our grandmothers. It is largely used as a daily, exclusive drink among the people of the southern provinces of Brazil and in Chile, constituting also an important article of export. The monograph published concerning it, and distributed at the café, pronounces it a nourishing beverage of the best quality, possessing the advantages of coffee and tea, and being less exciting and incomparably cheaper. "Containing less essential oil, it is better adapted for the use of nervous persons and children. Alone, and independent of any other nourishment, the infusion of maté will sustain strength and vigor during whole days. . . . As a medicine it is recommended in all cases where it is desirable to stimulate the forces, and to give nourishment without fatiguing the stomach." Dr. Lankester found by analysis that it contained nearly twice as much *theine* as coffee, and quite as much as tea. The great abundance and cheapness of this product, making it not worth adulteration, are strong arguments in its favor as a beverage for those who now depend on the cheaper qualities of tea and coffee, which are adulterated to an almost unlimited extent.

One of the most promising of the newer products of Brazil is what is known as "Brazilian Fibre," the product of a vine ("the Lactal Vine") which grows most luxuriantly in the forests, climbing and covering the trees and producing an enormous yield. This fibre seems to have all of the good qualities of the best now in use, and, while it is three times stronger than flax, it is susceptible of the same improvement and manipulation, even to the weaving of the finest tissues. It attracted much attention in London in 1872, and its zealous discoverer has at last succeeded in bringing it into such prominent notice that the commission appointed to investigate its qualities and promise as a national product have reported upon it in the most favorable terms, and recommend that its cultivation be undertaken systematically—under Government direction and at public expense—in such a way as to demonstrate its practical economical value. Indeed, the Brazilian Government seems to be thoroughly in earnest and thoroughly conscientious in its efforts to increase the agricultural products of the country.

With well-arranged schemes for the advancement of rural interests and for the colonization of new lands, and with an enormous area of fertile soil in our own hemisphere, under a favorable climate, the agricultural industries of Brazil, controlled by a wisely-fostering Government, are as-

saming proportions which it is well for us to consider. We have a headway in arts and manufactures which will doubtless maintain our supremacy; but so much of our prosperity as has come from the development of our agricultural resources is destined to a more severe competition than it has yet experienced.

G. E. W., JR.

No. XXII.

MACHINERY.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 4.

I AM conscious of having neglected Machinery Hall, for the reason that I am more and not less of a Yankee, and that I have seen my fill of machinery, or can see it any day. I fancy I have perceived a like abstinence from Agricultural Hall on the part of rustic visitors to the Exhibition. It is in the latter hall, as it happens, that I have been most captivated by mechanical contrivances, and that the self-binding attachment of certain harvesters has awakened in me an old train of thought. How shall we account for American ingenuity in all its length, breadth, and depth? I have never seen a better presentation of the question, or a nearer solution, than is contained in the following extract from the letter of one of the *Tribune's* correspondents at Vienna in 1873. Alluding to the American machinery for shoemaking on exhibition there, he says:

"It is mechanism of this kind which betrays more than any great discovery (though these too have been in no way lacking) the peculiar character of American inventiveness—a trait grown so general as to be a national characteristic, and which becomes, like painting in France or music in Germany, a school—a state of development in which not merely a great genius here and there comes to the light, but a certain amount of mechanical knowledge and capacity enables the generality of Yankee men to invent and carry out those mechanical appliances which their own business demands. Invention has become a habit with a larger number of Americans than with any other nation, probably, which exists. It cannot have escaped the attention of any American who has had occasion to have done for himself any precise mechanical work of a novel character, that European workmen apprehend and execute new ideas painfully, and are in fact generally incapable of developing a new idea in mechanical contrivance, while an American workman generally catches the idea readily, and often goes ahead of the original contrivance with some suggestion of his own. This is not due merely to superior general education, still less to the need of manual labor and its high price, as is generally said. Doubtless these causes have a potent effect, but my own experience in mechanics at home and abroad leads me to think that the development of inventiveness to the position of a national trait is due in a very great degree to the superior encouragement and protection given to invention and its results by our patent system, which is of a nature calculated to foster this contrivance of minor mechanical appliances, which make the wealth of our workshops as they do the attraction of this Exhibition. Such inventions are profitable in America; they are scarcely so in England, and utterly unprofitable on the Continent. England developed the steam engine, but the governor which one sees oftenest here is Porter's (American), and the majority of the engines at work in the Exhibition have Corliss valves. Mining-pumps are of far weightier necessity in England than in America, yet the best mining pump now in use in England (by the testimony of English engineers) is an American invention. So we might go through a list of useful inventions as long as the catalogue of any department here, and find that almost everywhere this practical sense of American inventors has made itself felt by ready adaptation of ideas previously either almost useless or comparatively undeveloped."

Nothing can be truer than that inventiveness is a *habit* with Americans. It has been said of the Italians that, however they may differ, their underlying unity may be found in the fact that every Italian will sing and make verses. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that every American at some time in his life effects an "improvement," and is a patentee either in fact or *in petto*. The universality of this trait was masked at the South by the existence of slavery, and the inventive capacity was doubtless paralyzed by long repression, but the war proved that it was not extinct. The most destructive torpedoes encountered by our fleets were designed by a native Kentuckian, who has since produced the best hot air engine yet invented. Two things are especially to be noted in regard to American inventiveness: that it is spontaneous—not the result, as a rule, of training or of opportunity—and that it pervades all ranks. But a few months ago I read in some newspaper: "President Chadbourne of Williams College, like the late President Nott of Union College, has a practical turn as well as a high order of literary talent. He recently received a patent for tension devices for twisting-machines." In one of the glass cases at the Patent-Office we used to see, and perhaps may still, the model of a stern-wheel contrivance for shallow-water navigation—fruit of the flatboat experience of the yet unfamous Lincoln; while one of the last acts of Andrew Johnson was to take out a patent for a combination plane. The "reactionary health-lift" which is now coming

into such general use, was invented by a Swedenborgian minister not unmindful of the example of his great teacher. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table is credited with that form of the hand-stereoscope which dispenses with a dark box. Our foremost Indian scholar, a Hartford Yankee, has devised the most compact arrangement of genealogical data for the display of pedigrees, to which a Boston merchant has given the finishing touch in his 'Ancestral Tablets.' Your occasional correspondent, Mr. Stillman, whom I suspect to have been the author of the extract given above, and who began as artist and art-critic, has, since the rise of photography, distinguished himself by numerous improvements in the material and apparatus of the art. Another New-Englander, Walter Channing, a physician, son of the great Unitarian divine, invented the priceless telegraphic fire-alarm in use in our principal cities. Morse was the son of a clergyman. Even a transcendentalist does not seem incapable of being or begetting an inventor. One could easily imagine Emerson whittling; and Thoreau in his hermitage must have relied upon the natural shiftiness of his race.

Of shiftiness, or the ready adaptation of means to unexpected or unusual ends, we see examples daily. Such was the improvisation of a military bridge across the Yellowstone, a year or two since, by the aid of confiscated whiskey-kegs. In our civil war it was a matter of constant observation. I do not refer merely to such exploits as the repairing, by the Massachusetts volunteers, of the road to Baltimore and the purposely disabled engine, or the taking out of the *Constitution*; there was nothing extraordinary in these except the absence of red-tape. Probably no soldiers the world ever saw stood less in need of orders; not as the result of high discipline, but because of a quick perception of what the emergency called for. I have heard an eminent Federal general speak of the admiration with which he used to see his command select a camp without instructions, and entrench themselves equally on their own responsibility, and, when making a difficult charge, show by their acts that they fully comprehended the nature of the movement, its consequences, and the best way to ensure its success. Surgeon Otis observes in his monograph on railway transportation of wounded soldiers in time of war: "There was often cause to remark on the great ingenuity displayed . . . by the line officers, quartermaster's men, and the soldiers themselves in improvising various contrivances for the comfort of the wounded subjected to these rough modes of transportation. With an intelligent adaptation of the means at hand, it was found practicable to make the condition of the wounded on freight-cars very tolerable, with the aid of articles belonging to the field equipment alone."

When we enquire whether American women exhibit an ingenuity corresponding to that of the men, I believe the answer must be in the affirmative, if we reject for the moment the test of the Patent-Office. *A priori* I think we should have to assert for them at least a latent genius for improvements and inventions, in order to account for the transmission through the mothers of the capacity which appears in the sons. Nor is there any more common observation than that the daughter inherits the mental qualities of the father, while the son in this respect takes after the mother. Women inventors and patentees are not unknown, but it seems to me that their paucity is readily explained by the general dependence of the sex, the rare opportunities they have for mechanical training, and, what is of no little importance, their divorce at once from business and the control of capital. What the world calls the independence of the Yankee woman, especially when seen abroad, is perhaps not more her freedom from Old-World conventionalities than her confidence in herself—her sense of resource. Her every-day domestic contrivances, which the world does not see, would, I am sure, set her apart among womankind as distinctively as the notorious inventions of the Yankee man do him. I was struck last summer by a little incident of which I was witness on Cape Cod. The stage stopped to pick up a passenger and a trunk at a house of which the visible head was a lady. In order to allow the passage of the trunk, it was necessary to keep the door—a light, summer sash—from blowing to. No hook and staple had been provided for such an emergency, but, close by, a morning-glory was twining itself about a string fastened at one end to a stick thrust in the ground, at the other to a nail driven into the side of the house. Without a moment's hesitation the lady broke the string from the nail and fastened it to the handle, and behold the door anchored like any fishing-smack visible in the neighboring bay! I felt that as a man I should have shrunk from disturbing the *status quo*, even if such an expedient had occurred to me. So in Machinery Hall, where the number of women among the crowds that throng it has certainly been most striking, I could not pretend that my interest in the various operations was superior to theirs, or was composed of curiosity and insight in any different proportions. I have, in fact, learned to be humble since an inventor once told me that when his machine was exhibited at the American Institute no woman ever

asked him a foolish question in regard to it, while many such were put him by men.

That our patent system has enormously stimulated inventiveness there can be no sort of doubt, and the *Tribune's* correspondent rightly lays stress on its fostering the "contrivance of minor mechanical appliances." The fortunes which a lucky thought—we may almost say an idle thought—often brings the inventor of a small improvement, would be dazzling even to a people less prone than the American to take the short cut to wealth and to seek the greatest returns for the least exertion. As you justly pointed out the other day, too many patents are applied for and too many granted, since blackmail is now rendered easy and the illegitimate gains of invention appear even more certain than the legitimate. This is wasteful and demoralizing in many ways. I have known the case of an elderly man whose family had to interfere with a patent agency to prevent his taking out a ruinous excess of patents. On a more general view, it is apparent that the very fertility of invention is the greatest obstacle to the adoption of improvements. One is never sure that to-morrow will not see any given device thrown into the shade by something better, simpler, and cheaper. The easiness of rash adoption on a large scale, though obvious enough, is not always recognized, or we should hear less grumbling than we do because (to take a plain example) every railroad is not equipped with the Westinghouse brake, the Miller platform, or with the most approved heating apparatus. When all has been said, however, about the effects good and bad of our patent system, I believe we shall have to concede that it is itself part of the thing to be accounted for—part of the problem to be solved. It does not explain Franklin or Rumford; nor why New England is more inventive than Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania than Virginia; nor why "an American workman generally catches the idea readily" while "European workmen apprehend and execute new ideas painfully"; nor why two adjoining States on this continent, like Maine and New Brunswick, should show such a marked difference in mechanical alertness, insight, and discovery. Why is the American people so ready to reward the inventor, by giving him protection and by buying the latest Yankee notion? What is the reason of its superiority in this respect to the English and the Germans, its next of kin?

That the climate tends to make us exceptionally eager, restless, and enquiring, I can well believe; that the high average intelligence of the people, due to our common schools, comes to the aid of senses already sharp, is also credible. But if I were asked to name the most potent factors of our ingenuity, I should find them in the early history of this country and in the form of government which has developed out of it. We live in what is emphatically the New World, and nothing of the Old that we wanted to shake off could cling to us. From having to depend upon ourselves we arrived at a state in which anything short of self-government was intolerable. Innovation became a sign of liberty, as it was really the fruit of liberty; it is now as natural for us to experiment as it is to breathe. Our mechanical superiority is therefore, it seems to me, the outgrowth of a moral principle for which we may take credit to ourselves; and as it has largely contributed to our material prosperity, perhaps this prosperity is too often, by foreigners, decried as purely material. No doubt it has changed self-reliance into overweening confidence in ourselves, has increased our contempt of precedents and our ignorance of what experience has taught other nations, especially outside the domain of the senses dealing with material things. It is the function of international exhibitions to correct this natural and, on the whole, excusable failing, for, as we may exclaim with Goethe—

"Denn was wäre das Haus, was wäre, die Stadt, wenn nicht immer
Jeder gedächte mit Lust zu erhalten und zu erneuen,
Und zu verbessern auch, wie die Zeit uns lehrt und das Ausland!"

Das Ausland, on their part, will perhaps have learned at Philadelphia to discover a moral significance in our industrial advances, and in two respects at least will have had the clue to it brought forcibly to their attention. Accustomed as some of them are to railway regulations which impose a fine for opening the door of your coupé either to get in or out, and which guard the bell-rope not only with penalties but with plate-glass, they must have been struck with the safe and effective transportation of millions of people to and from the Centennial Grounds without disorder and without accident, on trains which any passenger could traverse from one end to the other, and whose bell-ropes were in reach of the most timid as of the most undevout. On the grounds themselves, the absence of all restraint, the invisibility (so to speak) of the police, the universal good-nature and good behavior, will also, I trust, have been striking to European eyes. Between these phenomena and the American triumphs in Machinery Hall there is, I believe, a connection which is worth their studying. I. N.

THE CZAR AND FRANCIS JOSEPH.

PARIS, October 26, 1876.

THERE is in journalism something which reminds one of auricular confession. To make an examination of one's own thoughts after a long interval, is like seeing their printed expression after time has elapsed and when events have followed these thoughts. I could not help being startled when I received the last number of the *Nation*, and found my own letter on the isolation of Russia. Things have gone so quickly since, that the position of Russia appears already transformed. The Sumarokoff mission has begun a new chapter in this history of the Eastern Question, which I am afraid will have many chapters. The Czar, who is now living at Livadia, in the Crimea, has sent an autograph letter to his good brother Francis Joseph. The whole world was soon informed of its contents, as it was accompanied by letters from Prince Gortchakoff to Count Andrassy. The Russian Chancellor explained how all the Turkish promises of reform had never been anything but empty words; the new promises of constitutions, senates, councils of state, etc., were no better than the old Hatti-Hamayouns; the Sick Man was too sick to be cured. Russia had no exclusive ambition; she invited Austria to enter with her into the Christian provinces of Turkey; the *real presence* of Austria and Russia could alone secure the reality of the promised reforms. There was a good deal of commotion on the receipt of these letters; it is dangerous to resist some friends. Francis Joseph did not much like a common intervention; he remembered the federal execution in the Danish Duchies, followed so soon afterwards by the fight over the spoils and Sadowa. But the Archduke Albert, the conqueror of Custoza, the head of the Austrian army, maintained that there was no alternative for Austria but to join Russia's effort—fight with her or against her. He, for one, was still an Austrian; he would, if he could, save Austria, and he saw no other way than by an alliance with Russia. Much might be said about the traditional opposition to Russia's designs against the Ottoman Empire; but it was his belief that nothing could save Turkey from destruction. If Austria tried to shield her—to protect her against Russia—she would try an impossible thing, and would expose herself to lateral attacks on the side of Italy—perhaps of Northern Germany. The Austrian army was in fine condition. A campaign in Bosnia would be a mere promenade; a campaign against Russia would be the end of Austria. Thus spoke the last military Hapsburg. Count Andrassy was not of the same mind. Hungary, said he, would never give her consent to a joint action of this kind; she would not shed her blood in order to build up new Slavic kingdoms. He went so far as to say that a revolution might break out in Pesth and a rebellion in the Hungarian regiments.

Matters were left in a state of uncertainty, as the Emperor finally said that he must first consult the Great Powers. To consult the Great Powers merely means to gain time. The Great Power to be really consulted is Prussia, and hence it is that, gradually, everything has centred round the "Sphinx of Varzin." The German newspapers have invented a new verb—"sphinxen." The London *Times*, whose barometrical articles on this Eastern Question are a study in themselves, made a few days ago a most solemn appeal to Prince Bismarck. England, by the mouth of the *Times*, implored the German Chancellor not to let loose upon Europe a war which would be more disastrous than the wars of recent years. The Sphinx may well have laughed when he read this; he probably does not consider the wars of 1866 and of 1870 as particularly disastrous wars. His official organ, the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, has answered the *Times* in the most contemptuous manner: Germany is not disposed to enter into partnership with England in the Eastern Question, and England will do well to remember that there is such a thing as the triple alliance of the Emperors. Prince Bismarck has not yet spoken for himself, and we don't know how much importance ought to be attributed to these words. If the alliance of the Emperors were still a solid reality, if Bismarck were acting as a friendly mediator between Austria and Russia, there would be little to fear from the Hungarians. Count Andrassy would have nothing to do but to resign, Archduke Albert could enter Bosnia, and the great Continental Powers could make a new partition of Poland without meeting with much opposition on any side. Such a settlement of the Eastern Question would be, so to speak, irresistible. England would probably pounce upon Egypt; but she can hardly make, all alone, a new Crimean war.

There is no doubt that Prince Bismarck holds now in his hands the fate not only of Turkey, but of all Europe; and speculations upon the future resolve themselves almost into speculations as to his intentions. There has been so much *inattendu* in his political career that we may expect a surprise. I have no doubt, on the one hand, that Prince Bismarck is a thorough German, that he is no ideologue, that he has consistently and intelligently

worked for the benefit and the interest of the German Fatherland; but I don't know how far he shares the views of most of his countrymen concerning the valley of the Danube. He is not the slave of what the French call the *lieux-communs*, and when he has principles of his own his prestige has become such that he can convert the Germans to his views. What conversions he has made since 1869, in Germany, everybody knows. It is not safe to make suppositions, but we are in possession of facts which have great importance. It is certain that in 1866, after Sadowa, Bismarck would not take his king to Vienna, that he would not dictate the terms of peace from the Austrian capital; and even at that time he said: "We must not humiliate Austria too much; we shall need her in the Eastern Question." What did he mean exactly by these last words? Events only will show.

I turn now to the most painful part of this perplexing subject. There is a vague feeling in Prussia that the complications in the East have helped to leave the hands of France completely free. Last year when the Czar came to Warsaw there were many symptoms of ill-humor in Germany; it was even believed that Prince Bismarck would force a quarrel upon us. Great efforts in favor of peace were made by the Czar as well as by England, and the agitation came suddenly to an end. If we are to believe our pessimists, Prince Bismarck judged from that moment that he must separate England and Russia before he undertook to attack France. The Eastern Question was a convenient tool; it operated like a wedge between Russia and England. It is certain that at this moment it would be difficult to bring about any concert between the friends and the enemies of Turkey. Fire was set first to the match of Herzegovina; the German and the Russian Chancellors united their action, and finally the mission of General Sumarokoff forced Austria to make her choice between a combined action with the German and the Russian Empires, or to fight Russia, with Prussia in a hostile attitude at her flank. Austria is, so to speak, obliged to choose between jumping into fire and jumping into water. Italy was used as a menace against her; Austria was made to understand that if she would not accept the gift of Herzegovina and Bosnia, even what she has would be taken from her—I mean the Italian Trentino, which was skillfully excluded in 1866 from Venetia. It was doubtful till a few days ago which side Austria would take; would she assume a hostile attitude towards Russia at the risk of losing the Trentino, and perhaps her German provinces? Would she side with the Russians at the risk of a Hungarian insurrection?

It seems at present that the military party, headed by Archduke Albert, is triumphing over the Hungarian party and Count Andrassy. We must, we are told, prepare for a common occupation of the provinces which lie at the north of the Balkans. What will be the price which Prince Bismarck will ask for his leadership of this Eastern affair? He must do *something* in order to reconcile German public opinion with the abandonment of the old anti-Slavic Metternichian policy. The German Liberals will ask him why he has allowed the mouths of the Danube to fall under the mastership or the leadership of the great Russian Empire. Some say that Prince Bismarck has designs on Holland, and even on Antwerp; some, that he has the means of reducing the Emperor of Austria to the state of a vassal, and will increase, by a stroke of his pen, the army of the German Confederation by four hundred thousand men; some, that he has made arrangements with Russia on the Vistula. The French naturally believe that they will pay for the Turks, and they suspect that Prince Bismarck entertains the darkest designs against the country he has already despoiled. France has fallen from the height of her new illusions into a state of despondency, and almost of despair. She sees the affairs of Europe managed without her, and she thinks that they might be managed against her. And what will be the position and the policy of England? The Germans affect to ignore her existence; they see England divided against herself—one day sending her fleet to Besika Bay, the next denouncing the Bulgarian atrocities. They believe that England, in the last analysis, will content herself with laying her hand on Egypt. Never was Europe in such a state of confusion since the time of the first Napoleon; tremendous armies and navies are in readiness, the storm is gathering, and we all expect the first lightnings.

Correspondence.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGIANS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the article contained in the *Nation* of October 26, and entitled "Clergymen as Scientific Men," clergymen are divided into two classes—viz., those who believe in the scientific accuracy of the Mosaic account of creation literally construed, and those who hold that, if rightly

interpreted, that account can be reconciled with the latest results of geology and biology. Permit me to suggest that these two classes do not by any means include all clergymen who think and speak on this question. There are those who hold that as the Holy Scriptures were given as a revelation of moral and spiritual truth to the souls of men, any scientific statement occurring in them is merely incidental and illustrative. Such statements, this class of theologians consider, are not to be valued for their agreement or disagreement with the conclusions of modern science, but simply for their conveyance of the moral and spiritual truth they were meant to impart. Take, for instance, the account of creation in the first two chapters of Genesis. These theologians would say we find the supreme and exalted worth of these accounts in their spiritual conception of the origin of things. It is the view of God as above and beyond nature; as the spiritual author, by his creative fiat, of the physical universe and all that it contains; as the one eternal Being who in the beginning was, and who made all things orderly and wisely and well—it is this view of God and nature which is the revelation given, and the knowledge of which came by the inspiration of the Divine Creative Spirit. This is what the author of the accounts meant to teach, and the vehicle by which he gave expression to his thought is a matter of minor consideration. Doubtless he may have thought he was stating accurately the method of the Divine procedure; but what he did was to take the science at his hand and use it as an instrument to associate the physical universe indissolubly with the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God. God made the world—the minutest atoms and the most lordly creatures, the smallest herbs and the grandest planets. All things, all beings, had their origin in him, and he, therefore, is the supreme and only object of worship; his law is the paramount guide of men. The grandeur of this thought, the immense worth of this truth, these men would say, cannot be diminished or injured by any crudeness of scientific conception by which it is illustrated. The order may not be scientifically correct, as the making of the sun after the creation of the earth; the description may not be accurate of the incoming of various forms of life upon the earth; but this one thing stands out distinct and secure, that everything is dependent upon God, and that his invisible presence and power are not to be dissociated with anything visible in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.

Indeed, there seem to these thinkers to be special reasons why the scientific illustrations of spiritual truth appearing in the Bible should be popular or in accordance with the scientific apprehension of the people to whom the spiritual message first came. A message, to be impressive, must be stated in a language "understood of the people" to whom it is given. Its illustrations, to be apt, must be familiar; they must not startle by their strangeness, which needs itself to be explained, but must, by their appeal to a common thought or experience, make the new truth the more readily comprehensible. We can imagine the effect upon our forefathers, of the time of the Revolution, of a doctrine conveyed to them by means of illustrations drawn from the use of the steam-engine and the electric telegraph. To enforce a moral truth upon them by allusions to a journey to California in six days, or the receipt of news across the Atlantic in six minutes, would have been simply absurd. They must have rejected a doctrine, however true, couched in a form to them so palpably absurd. The same law holds for more ancient times. For Moses to have stated the views of modern science in an account of Creation, would merely have been to obscure the spiritual truth concerning it which it was his object to enforce. It would seem to have ensured the rejection of the special message he was divinely inspired to convey.

To those who thus look upon the Bible and its revelation as a moral and spiritual educator of men in things pertaining to God, the question of the scientific accuracy of its illustrations is not a matter of supreme moment. No one can prize more than they the spiritual import of the Old and New Testaments. They see in the Biblical doctrine of God and of man's moral relations to him unmistakable evidences of divine revelation and inspiration. If we have this treasure in the earthen vessels of rhetorical infelicity, or statistical inaccuracy, or scientific crudity, it is not the less heavenly treasure whose excellency is all the more proven to be of God and not of men. As artists do not value the less the spiritual tenderness and purity of the pictures of Fra Angelico or Perugino because of the stiffness of the anatomy or the anachronisms of the details of the landscape, so such theologians do not prize the spiritual revelations of the Scriptures the less because the form of their expression partakes of the peculiarities of the age in which they were written. They are quite willing to leave scientific questions to scientific men to determine. Whether God breathed the breath of man's life into a handful of inorganic dust, or

into an organism already started on the course of its development, makes but little difference so long as they hold that man's life is of God, and that "the Spirit of the Almighty giveth him understanding." The doctrine of evolution may or may not be true. That does not lie in their province to determine. It is to them no more an argument against man's spiritual and moral nature, if his physical organism was prepared by a development through inferior forms, than the fact that each individual comes into being through a similar embryonic development from the matrix in his mother's womb. Certainly most theologians would hold with the most eminent physiologists that at present the theory of evolution is "not proven." They are willing to let Dr. Elam (see *Contemporary Review* for September and October, 1876) and Dr. Huxley debate the question on their own ground. But so long as God gives them brains and tongue they will contend, with all the reason and eloquence they can command, against any such view of the universe as divorces its all-pervasive order from a Supreme Reason. They will stand in direct opposition to any such materialistic view of man as confounds intellectual thought with the molecular action of the brain which accompanies it, or reduces conscience to the mere nervous irritation which it occasions. They not only hold that to liken the action of man's moral nature to the production of electricity from metals, or the secretion of bile from the liver, is fatal in its consequences to society, but that it does violence to reason itself. While content to leave the method of creation to the decision of natural philosophers, they claim that the origin of things and the nature of the soul must be left to the decisions of the soul, itself based on an investigation of its consciousness and a knowledge of its history, illumined by the light which streams from out the record of its highest inspiration. They cannot accept as rational any theory whose explanation is simply an explaining away of the profoundest facts of consciousness, or an elimination of those grand intuitions which have proved the guides and guards of all that ennobles the individual or makes society possible. It is not, I hope, presumptuous to assume that the *Nation* will stand by them in this task and help them to accomplish it.

CLERICUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sir: It is a great pity that the article in the *Nation* of October 26 on "Clergymen as Scientific Men" did not go a little further, and attack at once the whole subject of popularizing science through the medium of magazine articles and popular lectures. The scientific articles in our magazines are generally written by men who have but a smattering of the subject in hand; and many of our popular scientific lecturers have a great faculty for dealing with the scientific problems of the day as if they had a share in their solution. Both writers and lecturers are prominently before the public, and little by little come to imagine that by taking sides for or against a question they can settle it by a magazine article or a popular lecture.

It is becoming more and more dangerous in these days of specialties to make speculations, subject as they are at once to the ordeal of facts in so many different directions. And, while it has been the habit of philosophers to ridicule the specialists to their hearts' content, the latter have an uncomfortable way of constantly becoming stumbling blocks and insisting upon being taken up. No one to day ought to have a hearing on general subjects who has not some special claim in the same department of science. When Tyndall or Huxley attacks the theologians on their own ground he is no more entitled to a hearing than any of the clergymen who enter the lists against him in physics or biology. When Ruskin wanders off from writing on art to botanical or geological subjects his words are not entitled to the least weight among scientific men. When Von Baer, Milne Edwards, or Owen writes against the Darwinian theory, what he has to say will command the respectful hearing of all parties.

This leads us to the distinction which should always be made, but is rarely kept in view, between the report of the condition of any scientific discussion, such as a magazine writer or a popular lecturer can give, and the exposition given by an original investigator in the same field, who has the right to question and to differ, from his own knowledge of the subject, from his co-workers in his own department. This distinction is never lost sight of on the continent of Europe. We do not find that in Germany, France, Switzerland, or Scandinavia any scientific weight is attached to popular magazine articles or lectures. It is eminently characteristic of the United States and England to find a mere magazine writer or popular lecturer aspire to be classed among the ranks of scientific men, because he has been a popular expounder of scientific subjects or has taken an interest in them.

Now, we are far from thinking that the Darwinian theory can be demolished, on the platform or in magazine articles, by a careful selection of questions and answers taken from the Darwinists themselves, and arranged with more or less skill. These very questions may simply imply (as they almost always do) a want of knowledge of the subject itself, and should not be taken as arguments for or against the theory. But no one at the present day will deny the totally different turn given to the Darwinian theory from its original direction. Little by little the mere supporters of Darwin have gradually shifted their base to the general theory of evolution, and always speak as if the latter were attacked, when the objections urged are mainly intended against the former. To read some of the writers on the Darwinian theory, one would imagine we were on the eve of another Inquisition; the imaginary martyrdom suffered by Haeckel must be nearly intolerable, and the persecution to which his followers have been subject forms a fit case for appeal to Bismarck. But are we not more in danger of running to the other extreme? Is not religious intolerance in a fair way of being replaced by scientific intolerance?

The Darwinian theory has been most ardently received in Germany where a theory of evolution has in some shape or other been floating in the minds of most scientific men for nearly half a century, and they welcomed it as a most important factor of that general theory. The Germans are far, however, from considering all discussion regarding the Darwinian theory as closed; they are patiently waiting the answer to a whole class of questions in biology which embryology, comparative anatomy, geographical distribution, and palaeontology alone can give in the course of time, and it would greatly facilitate determining the position of the Darwinian theory as regards the general problem of evolution if everybody did not feel fully competent to discuss that subject.

If the metaphysicians will leave for awhile to theologians the problem of the evolution of religion, to philologists that of language, to the political economist the problems of social science, to the biologists the problems connected with the appearance of life on the earth's surface, and, finally, to the physicists, geologists, and astronomers the early history of the crust of the earth and the still grander problem of the primary evolution of our planetary system, we shall all be the gainers. Scientific men have nothing to gain by going out of their domain; but while urging this division of labor let us not forget that "all science is one," that the limits of any one department encroach upon the others, and that philosophical speculations must of necessity extend into adjoining domains where information is to be taken at second hand. Let us leave the philosophical speculations extending beyond the boundaries of scientific research to those who have become the leaders of thought; and if magazine writers and popular lecturers will confine themselves to acting as reporters only upon subjects with which they have become acquainted from actual study, we shall be in a fair way to employ our magazines and lectures as popularizing agents of science within their proper limits.

SCIENTIFICUS.

Notes.

J. SABIN & SONS have now for sale their catalogue of the remarkable and in some respects unprecedented collection of books, etc., belonging to Mr. William Menzies, of this city, which is to be sold at auction Nov. 13 by Geo. A. Leavitt & Co. A more uniformly valuable library, without rubbish, was perhaps never disposed of in this country. The catalogue is an elegant product of Munsell's press. Of its varied contents we can only single out its Washingtoniana, including Irving's *Life* expanded by insertions into ten magnificent volumes, and the original letters of Washington to Gen. Joseph Reed, long since "edited." No. 1330 is a copy of the rare 'Mémoire' to which we lately referred in our notice of the *Olden Time*. No. 1728 is a copy of an equally rare 'Expostulatory Letter to George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, on his continuing to be a Proprietor of Slaves' (Liverpool, 1797). Washington returned it "without a syllable in reply," but emancipated his slaves in his will—Bulletin No. 39 of the Boston Public Library continues its Check-list for American Local History to Chemung Valley, N. Y., and has valuable bibliographical notes on the History of Mental Philosophy and America in the Sixteenth Century. Under the latter head will be found the materials for studying the Verrazano controversy, which, we may remark, is discussed in No. 66 of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society.—In the *American Naturalist* for November Prof. J. D. Whitney shows that the prairie is a product not of temperature but of the soil, which may be described as exceedingly finely comminuted earth, unfavorable to the growth of trees. It is the result

of slow and generally tranquil "accumulation of detrital materials during a vast period of time," through local rather than general agencies, by which the soluble portion of the horizontally stratified rocks underlying the prairie region—rocks easily acted on by water—was dissolved and removed. Prof. Whitney calls attention to a fact often overlooked, that as trees do not grow spontaneously in prairie soil they can only be cultivated there under difficulties.—Henry Holt & Co. will publish their first juvenile book, 'The Pearl Fountain, and Other Fairy Tales,' by the Kavanagh sisters, for the holidays. Prof. Walker's 'Wages Question' is to be translated into Italian.—J. B. Ford & Co. announce a new work by Mrs. Stowe, 'Footsteps of the Master.'—An authoritative work on 'Potato Pests,' by Dr. Charles V. Riley, State Entomologist of Missouri, is in the press of Orange Judd & Co.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. will publish 'Charles Kingsley: Letters and Memoirs of his Life,' edited by his wife.—'Animals Painted by Themselves,' edited from the French by James Thompson, F.R.G.S., with Granville's illustrations, is announced by J. B. Lippincott & Co.—Turnbull Brothers, Baltimore, announce for early publication 'Edgar Allan Poe: a Memorial Volume,' prepared by Miss Sara S. Rice, and embellished, among other illustrations, with a photograph from a late daguerreotype of the poet.—The Third Congress of the Episcopal Church, which is to meet in Horticultural Hall, Boston, Nov. 14-17, has a vigorous programme of discussion: "The True Place of Art in Christianity," "The Morals of Politics," "Freedom of Religious Thought in the Episcopal Church," "Secular and Religious Education," "Revivals and Christian Nurture."

—The present rage for old furniture is gratified in the November *Harper's* by an article on this subject by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford. It is profusely illustrated with all sorts of "Gothic" properties, but that it will do much towards forming a correct taste we have grave doubts. For one reader who will be content to follow where it leads him "the first principle to be found in Gothic furniture," namely, "absolute simplicity and truth and frankness of construction, however elaborate the ornament," a hundred will be confused and misled by Mrs. Spofford's assurance that in order to build a modern house "and furnish it accurately in the Gothic, if that is the style chosen—and unless accurately, best not at all—it is as necessary to understand something of the origin, the genesis, and method of use of each article as it is to know how to count in order to cast up a sum in addition. . . . One needs some archaeological knowledge, a tolerably definite idea of the way affairs were ordered in the days that are gone." The paper on John Locke is somewhat tougher reading than we commonly find in *Harper's*; at least this is true of the earlier portion, which treats of Locke's philosophy. The biographical narrative is interesting enough, and would have been still more so if it could have embodied extracts from Locke's notes of travel on the Continent. The writer alludes to these, and it is not too late to make of them a second paper. He mentions also the curious fact that Dr. Richard Busby, master of Westminster School when Locke was sent there, was the same "Dr. Busby" who figured in a children's game of cards not many years obsolete in this country, if it be indeed wholly obsolete.

—In *Lippincott's* for November Prof. J. M. Hart finds fault with our higher education as being based on the English rather than on the German model. Much that he has to say is suggestive, as when he remarks that the breaking of the connection between the colleges and the State has led to their sacrificing "whatever direct influence they may once have possessed over national life." But here the thought which is prompted is that Prof. Hart has overlooked the fact that the State grew away from the colleges and not the colleges from the State. In Massachusetts, for instance, a learned gospel was the prime cause of the interest which the State took in the higher education, and when the attempt to make everybody go to meeting and support the minister recognized by the State was relinquished, even in that early day the breach with the college at Cambridge was begun. The extension of the suffrage, the rise of parties, the mixture of population, and the gradual lowering of the standard of public service, at last made the dependence of the college on the State not only unprofitable but dangerous. Bad as our political condition is, it would be a thousand times worse if jobbery could invade our colleges as it does our common schools. We may admit that college influence on national affairs is more indirect than is desirable—than it is, notoriously, in England. Still, we should like chapter and verse for such a statement as this:

"The workers in natural science excepted, . . . it may be safely said that our progress in the arts and letters, in legislation, social reform, and even in philosophic study, has been gained without aid from the colleges. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that our real thinkers, the men who take the initiative in any given direction, are men moving wholly outside of the college sphere, and that many of them are not even graduates."

—The *Gallery* for November contains some verses by Joaquin Miller, called "Como," which are a fair specimen of the quality of the poet of the Sierras. The subject is a simple and very old one—jealousy ending in murder, and when dark deeds are to be done we may be sure that Mr. Miller will not be at his worst. The machinery is not so old as to creak, nor yet so new as to attract too much attention, consisting as it does in the use at the beginning, and again at the end, of a burden plainly pointing to a violent death, while between this introduction and finale we are let into the secret of the crime and its motive by seeing pass before us two friends, one in love with and the other having designs of some kind against the peace of mind of a lady who gives the first sufficient cause for jealousy, and, as he thinks, sufficient reason for something more. In reading the verses, which have an undeniable strength of language, and now and then hints of rather unusual poetical fancy, and which, like a good deal of Mr. Miller's poetry, provoke the reader who has begun them to go on to the end, it is impossible not to ask what it is that, after all, is so disagreeable about it. It is not because of a lack of intelligibility, though the author does undoubtedly belong to a school of poets who look upon any doubts on this point expressed by the public as almost conclusive proof of the inherent vulgarity and unredeemed stupidity of the class known to bards as "critics." But it is not obscurity which is Mr. Miller's besetting sin, and it is somewhat difficult to find a word which expresses what we miss, or rather what we do not miss, but regret to find in his poetry. It is a defect which now and then *band* would come nearer expressing than any English word. It is impossible, for instance, not to smile the smile of superiority at the image suggested by this description of a beauty:

"Her presence it was majesty—so tall
Her proud development encompassed all
She filled all space."

And yet instances of the same sort of substitution of the ridiculous for the sublime may be found on every other page of Mr. Miller's writing. This is the intellectual taint which runs through his verse; there is a moral one as well (if an apparently complete insensibility to moral impressions can be called a moral defect), which has been often pointed out, and which seems to us nearly related to the other. In his pages there is no apparent appreciation of the fact that among civilized people there is a close connection between taste and morality, and that the criminal propensities of the race, though admitted to exist, are not in themselves objects of pleasing speculation. With Mr. Miller and his school it is otherwise. Crime is in itself attractive to them, and in much of their verse we see a distinct subordination of the aesthetic sense to what sometimes seems almost like a criminal appetite. That he is a natural poet there can be no doubt, but he is at the same time rather a brilliant savage than a man whose tastes naturally put him into relations with the educated public. This public consists mainly of people who have been "caught young," and they are somewhat shy of their untamed kin.

—Mr. Hazard Stevens gives an account in the *Atlantic* of the ascent of Takhoma (Mount Rainier), the immense snow clad mountain mass which overlooks Puget Sound from Olympia to Victoria. According to Indian tradition, it is an enchanted mountain, on the summit of which an evil spirit dwells in a fiery lake, while round about him rages a furious tempest against which no man can stand. Such, at least, with many more interesting details, was the account given to Mr. Stevens and his party of the difficulties of the ascent by their Indian guide, Sluiskin, who strongly objected to what he considered their sacrilegious attempt. The top, however, was reached after a long and perilous march and climb, of which the writer gives an interesting account. In going and returning two hundred and forty miles were accomplished. Expeditions of this kind in the United States are so different from Alpine climbing that we should think one would furnish small preparation for the other, one of the most serious differences being the non-professional and independent character of the guides. Sluiskin, for instance, is thus described by Mr. Stevens:

"Sluiskin was an original and striking character. Leading a solitary life of hardships amidst these wilds, yet of unusual native intelligence, he had contrived, during rare visits to the settlements, to acquire the Chinook jargon, besides a considerable stock of English words, while his fund of general information was really wonderful. He was possessed of a shrewd, sarcastic wit, and, making no pretence to the traditional gravity of his race, did not scruple to use it freely. Yet beneath this he cherished a high sense of pride and personal independence. Although of the blood of the numerous and powerful Yakimas, who occupied the country just east of the Cascades, he disdained to render allegiance to them, or any tribe, and undoubtedly regarded the Superintendent of Indian affairs, or even the Great Father at Washington himself, with equally contemptuous indifference."

The statement at the end of the article, that "we were justly regarded as the first, and, as I [Mr. Stevens] believe, the only ones up to the present time who have ever achieved the summit of Takhoma," is not perfectly accurate, as the ascent was made within a short time (we think not more than a month) after that here described by Messrs. Emmons and Wilson of the Fortieth Parallel Survey.

—The Commissioner of Education has just caused to be published a voluminous report on the condition and management of public libraries in this country—one of the centennial labors of the year. In comprehensiveness it reminds us of the parliamentary blue-books, which present from time to time masses of information, recommendation, suggestion, and criticism on the condition of the public institutions of Great Britain. Many of the very best bibliographers and librarians of the United States have made their contributions to its pages: Justin Winsor, A. R. Spofford, H. A. Homes, C. A. Cutter, W. F. Poole, F. B. Perkins, O. H. Robinson, and H. E. Scudder being among the writers whose names are given. The editorial work devolved upon S. R. Warren, a recent Yale graduate, and S. N. Clark—both adjuncts of the Educational Bureau at Washington—and they have obviously labored with marvellous patience and with signal success. To their perseverance great praise is due. Their report is issued in two very unequal parts—the first having nearly twelve hundred octavo pages, and the second less than ninety pages, being, in fact, a single tract on "A Dictionary-Catalogue," by C. A. Cutter. A few wood engravings—not very satisfactory—exhibit the aspects, sometimes exterior, sometimes interior, of a few of the principal library buildings in the United States. The index is full but not exhaustive. Among the topics which the report takes up are these: the history and statistics of American libraries; suggestions in respect to catalogues, indexes, and library bibliography; hints in respect to the organization and conduct of libraries of different sorts; selected lists of reference books; comments on the experience of different parts of the country in the maintenance of libraries; plans of library buildings. In short, there is hardly any point in respect to library management which is not discussed by a special paper or on which ample light is not thrown by incidental comments; and, as the authorship of each paper is given, the reader is enabled to consult the most experienced library-workers in the country. A single writer might have condensed the report and made it in some respects more valuable by the elimination of repetitions; but he would have thus deprived it of much of its freshness. If a good reviewer would now gather up the opinions here expressed, omitting the historical and statistical statements, and confining himself to the actual conduct of libraries, he would render a great service to the country. It would be better yet if in every town large enough or compact enough to have a public library, some bright young man or woman would go over the volume, pen in hand, and combine in a single paper the rich suggestions and the varied experiences which this volume contains, so far as they are adapted to the special locality in which the compiler may reside.

—No one can examine this report without being impressed with the rapid growth of public libraries during the last few years, with the liberal sums given for their maintenance, with their remarkable geographical distribution over even the newest States and Territories, and with the fine openings for young women which library-work has provided. Yet he must acknowledge that our libraries, like our public schools, are far enough from being equal to the requirements of the country. Half a dozen colleges and half a dozen other communities are moderately well provided with books, but elsewhere the supplies are meagre. There are more germs than trees, more acorns than oaks described in this report. As in other departments of education, there are abundant indications of general intelligence rather than of learning and culture. One of the most suggestive papers is by Mr. J. P. Quincy on Free Libraries, in which, with too much brevity, he suggests the principles on which these foundations should be conducted. He especially protests against the indiscriminate supply of *trash*, simply because "there is a call for it." Mr. Perkins, in a very practical manner, exhibits the modes of making town-libraries successful, and Prof. Frieze recommends the union of art collections with those of letters, and shows how easy it is to secure the nucleus of a museum. Besides these essays of general interest, the librarian will discover abundant technical suggestions, all the more valuable because only of value to members of "the craft." Notwithstanding its somewhat cumbersome or plethoric character, we trust this report will penetrate into every village of the land—that it will be *bound* and read. It cannot fail to whet the appetite for books, and to save the managers of libraries time, labor, and expense. The experience of the Boston Public Library alone is one of the best educational influences which can possibly be extended through the country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*

THIS eleventh volume of the 'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams' comprises portions of his diary during the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Congresses, and, like the preceding volumes, belongs to that very important class of publications from which history draws her narratives and her judgments. In French literature, which abounds in the best specimens of them, they fill a distinct place under the attractive title of "*Mémoires pour servir*." They require in the writer a retentive memory and an easy, natural style, but, still more, facility in portrait-painting and the art of reading character. As amusing reading they belong to the 'Gil-Blas' school of novel; as instructive reading they approach very near to history itself. It is to them that we must go for pictures of manners and customs, of external and internal life, of the landscape and the city, and all those details without which history is often so lifeless and cold. Taken from this point of view, we cannot give Mr. Adams's work a place in the first rank. His style has no graces, and he is too diffuse for energy. Though a writer of verses he has no poetic glow, and though often eloquent in debate, seldom rises with his pen above cold prose. You never read a sentence of his a second time for the lingering pleasure it leaves upon the ear. Yet he is clear and distinct; we should hardly venture to say precise, for precision implies a higher degree of vigor than he generally reaches. In this there is a striking difference between his speeches and his writings, and greatly in favor of the speeches, which are full of vigor and movement. The presence of an audience seems to inspire him, and statement, illustration, and vigorous logic flow from his lips with equal abundance. But when he takes up his pen he takes up with it the professor's gown. He cannot forget that he once lectured on belles-lettres to a college class.

But it is not from a literary point of view that these volumes are to be judged. They are the truthful record of the acts and opinions of a very eminent man during a very remarkable period of history; a period into which more rises and falls of empire and more sudden changes in the fortunes of individuals were crowded together than in any other period since history began. This is a circumstance to be kept constantly in view as we read these pages. In many of these events Mr. Adams had borne a conspicuous part. With many of the actors he was personally acquainted. Others he had seen at a distance. He had walked side by side with the Emperor of all the Russias in his morning walks in the great square of St. Petersburg, and talked on familiar terms with nearly all the prime ministers of the kingdoms and empires of Europe. He had helped make international law, and there was not one of his American colleagues who might not have sat reverently at his feet when he discoursed of history. It was natural that he should carry this consciousness with him. It was also natural that the claim it gave was not always acknowledged.

One of the traits of character which these "confessions" bring to view is the eager desire of moral improvement. He is keenly alive to the infirmity of his temper and always on the watch to guard against it. But it was a family weakness, and was too strong for him. His father had the same hot temper and the same moral conflict to wage. We have noticed this already, and return to it now to say reluctantly that in spite of all his efforts it grew with his years and ran into a painful bitterness. We give one specimen for all, because we believe, Plutarch to the contrary notwithstanding, that such things form a part of faithful history and ought to be told:

"I revised the proof-sheets of my speech delivered on the fourth instant on the McLeod resolution, the language of which, wholly extemporaneous, is mean and tautological, full of repetitions and desultory, but has the *mérite de l'apropos*. The speech has for the time saved Webster from the catastrophe which has befallen his colleagues. It has given him the means of saving himself from ruin and his country from a most disastrous war. My reward from him will be professions of respect and esteem, speeches of approbation and regard for me to my friends, knowing that they will be reported to me, secret and deep-laid intrigues against me, and still more venomous against my son. Such is human nature, in the gigantic intellect, the envious temper, the ravenous ambition, and the rotten heart of Daniel Webster. His treatment of me has been, is, and will be an improved edition of Andrew Jackson's gratitude. But there are things, according to Plutarch, not to be told in the biographies of great men."

We beg leave, as we have already hinted, to differ from Plutarch. It is only by giving such traits their true prominence that a man's real character can be known. Washington's fiery temper was no secret to his intimates; but did they not almost learn to look upon it as a virtue, or at least as an occasion of virtue, when they saw that he never performed a public act under its influence? For the same reason we give the following picture of what sometimes occurred on the floor of the Congress of those days:

* 'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams. Edited by his son, Charles Francis Adams.' Vol. XI. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

"I urged the House to disagree to the Senate's amendment. Ingersoll followed, and Stanley made some cutting remarks upon Wise. Fillmore followed, but had said only a few words when Wise crossed from his seat to that of Stanley, began by hectoring and finished by insulting him: whereupon Stanley called him a liar. Wise struck or attempted to strike him, and a fight ensued: a rush of members to the spot, whether to separate the combatants or to take sides with them it was difficult to say. The Speaker took the Chair, and roared 'Order! Order!' but no order came. Many cried out, 'The Sergeant-at-Arms, the Sergeant-at-Arms!' but no Sergeant-at-Arms appeared. After about five minutes of chaos, Wise appeared in his seat, addressed the Speaker; said he was perfectly cool and most humbly begged pardon of the House, and told how he had gone over to remonstrate with Stanley, that words had ensued, till Stanley had applied to him a word which he could not brook and he had struck him. Stanley said he had no pardon to ask of the House; that he had told Wise he was a liar, and would have chastised him severely if other members had not interfered. Ingersoll offered a resolution to investigate the rencontre—a committee of seven; adopted."

Very interesting and important side-lights are thrown upon the administration of John Tyler, who is painted in unenviable colors, and we are told, though not with as much detail as we could have wished, the history of the breaking up of his Cabinet, wherein Mr. Webster appears on the stage and suggests a not very complimentary quotation from Shakspere.

Mr. Adams, in November, 1841, is looking anxiously forward to the approaching session of Congress. He finds the same anxiety prevailing among his political friends:

"I walked out before dinner," he writes on the 20th, "and called at the office of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, with whom I had about an hour's conversation. He is under no small concern from apprehension upon two points at the approaching session of Congress: one, the rule excluding the reception of all petitions, resolutions, and papers relating to slavery; and the other, upon a revived project of which formal notice has been given in newspapers devoted to the interests and aspirations of President Tyler. I look forward to both these designs with alarm and anguish—not for the power of the South, which can effect nothing by itself, but from experience of the treachery of the Northern representation both to Northern interest and principles. I spoke also to Mr. Loring of the letter purporting to be from Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Adams, of which he sent me a copy, and the genuineness of which is very problematical. I asked him if access could be obtained to Samuel Adams's papers. His grandson, Samuel Adams Wells, has issued a prospectus of a memoir of his life and writings in six octavo volumes, but could not prevail upon any book-printing establishment to undertake it."

One of the subjects which particularly engaged his attention this session was the investment and application of the Smithsonian fund. Mr. Adams, it will be remembered, was in favor of building an observatory with it and carrying on a regular course of astronomical observations. He would have made another Greenwich of it, with a scientific bulletin of its own. He had always loved astronomy and cultivated his taste for it as far as circumstances allowed; and of his occasional addresses none interested him more than that which, in his extreme old age, he crossed the mountains to deliver at the opening of the observatory of Cincinnati. He worked hard to carry out his plan, but could not bring his colleagues to share his views. Another subject upon which he felt deeply was the fate of the *Amistad* Africans, whose protectors were trying to obtain an order for sending them home in Government vessels. He argued the question with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, and with John Tyler, then President. We introduce Mr. Webster once more. The scene is so striking, so full of dramatic vigor, that we give it in full. It reminds us of Alfieri:

"I called this morning at the Department of State with a letter communicating to him (the Secretary) the resolution of the committee directing their chairman to ascertain whether any new correspondence or instructions have occurred since the President's annual message, relating to the search by British cruisers of American vessels on the coast of Africa. He read the letter, and said nothing. I enquired whether the report on the call of the House last winter for documents concerning our relations with the Republic of Hayti was to be expected soon. He said it was in course of preparation. I told him I should probably move a call for Stevenson's letter to Commodore Hull, and also the Navy Department for the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry and Court-martial for the recent trial of Captain Bolton. He said nothing. I observed that the state of our affairs generally seemed unpleasant, and that there was every prospect of the repeal of the Bankrupt law. He made no reply. I said, difficulties seemed to multiply upon us. 'Yes,' said he, 'difficulties on all sides.' He was evidently absorbed in deep agitation of mind."

At this time, perhaps, there was not in the whole country a man more sincerely hated by slaveholders than John Quincy Adams; nor was there one who more boldly, more firmly, and more consistently held his ground in the midst of every form of opposition than he. He held the right of petition to be an inalienable one, and the petitioner as one to whom it was the duty of Congress to give ear. From this ground nothing could move him. The hostile feeling culminated at last in an attempt to try him be-

fore the bar of the House for having presented a petition asking for the dissolution of the Union. Our space will not permit us to follow him through the details of this fiery ordeal. We recommend it to the careful perusal of those who believe in the study of great men. We give one example of the way in which he speaks of it himself:

"After dinner, at St. John's Church, Mr. Hawley read prayers for the Sunday before Lent, and preached from Matthew xiii. 47: 'Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind.' My attention, morning and afternoon, involuntarily wandered from the preachers and their discourses to the critical nature of my own position: confident of my deliverance from this particular assault upon me, so senseless that its malignity merges, by its stupidity, not into innocence, but into harmlessness, but always distrustful of my own control over my own spirit. One hundred members of the House represent slaves, four-fifths of whom would crucify me if their votes could erect the cross; forty members, representatives of the free in the league of slavery and mock Democracy, would break me on the wheel, if their votes or wishes could turn it round; and four-fifths of the other hundred and twenty are either so cold or so lukewarm that they are ready to desert me at the first scintillation of indiscretion on my part. The only formidable danger with which I am beset is that of my own temper."

We close this volume with the same feeling with which we closed its predecessors—admiration for the industry, energy, and force of character of this remarkable man. The next volume will complete the work.

The Theory of Color in its Relation to Art and Industry.—By Dr. Wilhelm von Bezold. Translated from the German by S. R. Koehler. With an Introduction and Notes by Edward C. Pickering. Illustrated by chromo-lithographic plates and woodcuts. (Boston: L. Prang & Co. 1876.)—The widespread belief in the inability of the German mind to produce books of light and elegant composition and easy style has received of late years many brilliant refutations. Professor von Bezold's work may well be added to their number. Adding the talent of unpretending and lucid exposition to German solidity and minuteness of learning, he has indeed produced in this manual a little masterpiece of scientific popularization which the masters of that modern art in England and France will find it hard to surpass. The first two-thirds of the volume are devoted to an analysis, physical, physiological and psychological, of light, and our sensations of color. The experiments and conclusions which will make Helmholtz's work on optics immortal, but which have hardly yet filtered down to the level of the "reading public," are largely given here. The chapter on contrast, in particular, is in some respects the best statement of the laws of that mysterious phenomenon with which we are acquainted. We say mysterious, for we think Helmholtz's theory of misled judgment and "unconscious inference" insufficient to explain the matter. Why, for instance, on that theory should a gray ring on a pink ground appear *most* intensely green when the ground is so pale that we are left in uncertainty as to its hue? (p. 163). Our author's tact is as much shown by what he omits as by what he includes; he gives the reader enough for a complete understanding of practical principles and no more. When it comes to the discussion of particular combinations of color, he is less minute. Brücke's little work, for example, goes more into detail. But perhaps in a manual for designers this is to err on the safe side. Fix the broader principles and let instinct fill in the chinks; otherwise you not only breed a mechanical method, but you open the door to a class of cold-blooded mistakes which an instinctive artist will never slip into. Indeed, when we think how much worse than rubbish has been written about both the theory and practice of color, how Field's utterly worthless notion of "chromatic equivalents" has reigned in England, we are thankful for an author who is not ambitious to do too much. Prof. von Bezold's book should be read by all designers and students of aesthetics. Mr. Koehler's translation is excellent, and the publishers have done their part well.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Essays on the Endowment of Research.....	(Estes & Lauriat) 1 50
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Goldammer (Rev. J. S.), Luzzatto's Grammar of the Biblical Chaldaic Language.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 3 50
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